

A

REVIEW

OF THE

STATE

OF THE

British Nation.

Tuesday, October 25. 1709.

AT my first Undertaking to oppose the Projects and Designs of a Party of Men here in *England*, to Invade and Encroach upon the Liberties and Establishments of the Church of *Scotland*, I was not so Ignorant, as not to expect the outmost Fury and Rage of that Party, and of all their Adherents—And therefore it is no Surprise at all to me to hear of this Paper being called a NUSANCE, & represented as such by the Enemies of the Union, in which I think there is more of their Temper shown, than of Power to hurt me—I shall say little to the Circumstances of the Times—only this, that *High-Flying* Sheriffs make *High-Flying* Juries, and no wonder the Author of this is the first Experiment they make.

But the Triumph of the Party will meet with two Defeats in their At-

tempt upon the Author of this Paper—*First*, That instead of Terrifying me from going on with a just detecting the projected Confederacy, against the Church, and against the People of *Scotland*, it will oblige me in my own Defence, to lay open the constant Confederacy of the High Church-men in *England* with the *Jacobites* in *Scotland*, for the disturbing the publick Peace, and invading the Union—And this by meer Necessity, to Vindicate my Conduct, and shew the World both *why I have Spoken*, what they take Offence at, and *why they are Offended*.

If any Man ask, *why are ye Offended*, Gentlemen of the High Church? *If ye would answer Uprightly*, you would say plainly, Because I break in upon your private Measures, lay open your secret History—and let the World know what

what you mean, as well as what you do—you would own your Anger is, that you are detected in your political Attempt upon the Union of *Britain*, you would own your Anger is not, that the Common Prayer Book is rejected in *Scotland*, and the Toleration proved Impracticable—But that your raising Tumults in *Scotland*, and provoking the People there to irregular Violences is Defeated, and in short, that you cannot for your Lives get the Union broken.

For these things this Author bears your Resentment, not that he is singly able to do all these great things, but because he is in his Degree Instrumental to open the Eyes, and excite the Zeal of those *that are*—that he makes the Illegality and Inconsistency of these Practices *with the Union* clear to the common Capacities—and that the thing in general begins to grow odious to the common People.

These are some of the Reasons of this Storm—And indeed by them that know how hard these things grip and pinch the Party, and how much it endangers the Miscarriage of all their Designs in *Scotland*, it can no more be wondred at—It remains that I should give some Account why I have ventur'd to bring the Indignation of a Party thus upon me—and what has moved me at my own private Hazard to say these things—and then I shall proceed to tell you what the things are I have said, at which the High Church World are so Angry.

I have been in *Scotland*—every Summer since the Union, and was there during the whole Transaction; I saw there the Difficulty with which the People of *Scotland* were brought to Unite—I am Witness to their many Fears, jealousies and Suspensions, which indeed *Liben* thought they had less

Cause for, than I find now some People would give them, I saw, the Apprehension that they had of the Invasions and Encroachments we should make upon them from *England*—I am Witness to the many Assurances the Government gave them, both in Publick and in Private—and, which GOD be Prais'd, Her Majesty still remembers, that no Invasions or Encroachments should be suffered, or encouraged to be made upon them—

It cannot but be with some Surprise, that I see, being in *Scotland* at the writing this Paper, that no sooner was the Union made, and the two Nations in Consequence of it began to converse—But a restless Party here in *England*, the same, the very same that Involved *Scotland* in Blood, *tho'* to their own Confusion, anno 1637, and on the same Occasion began to Practise Disturbances and Distractions in *Scotland*, by attempting Innovations in Worship, Encroachments on Government, and Breaches in Discipline in the Church: *tho'* all these things are expressly Stipulated against by the *Scots*, and agreed to be disclaim'd by the *English* in the Act of UNION—Nor is it sufficient that this Attempt has been made in Violation of the Faith and Honour of *England* engaged in the Union—BUT, which might well Excuse any indecent Warmth in my Expression, the Party in *England* at the same time are not ashamed to insinuate both by Reports, and by Letters from Men of Reverend Characters called in the Charge MEN OF WORTH, that Her Majesty was Encouraging, and would protect them in the said Innovations and Invasions.

It had been enough to move any honest Mans Indignation that had any Concern for the Honour and Veracity of the Queen, or for the Characters

rafter of *English* Government in general to hear this — when it was plain that it was a direct Contravention of the Union to do so, and that Her Majesty could not act in that manner without renouncing the Faith of a just Prince plighted to Her *Northern* Subjects *at, in, and before* the TREATY, But who can answer for his Temper and what other Excuse need I make for being out of the Government of my Pen — when I find this done at the very Time when Her Majesty had caused Letters to be written by Her express Command to the Moderator of the General Assembly in *Scotland*, to the Lord Advocate, Lord Provost and Bailties of *Edinburgh, &c.* by the Lord High Treasurer and the respective Secretaries of State, expressing Her Majesties Dislike, and disowning all these wicked Attempts, and assuring all Her loving Subjects of *Scotland*, that Her Majesty is not, and will not, be directly or indirectly consenting to, or give any Countenance or Encouragement to any of the Innovations or Invasions mentioned; But that Her Majesty resolves to Maintain and Support the Church of *Scotland* in all its just Privileges, according to the Constitution of the said Church establish'd by the Union — With what unsufferable Insolence then must these Men act — who first assault the very Fundamental Constitution of *Scotland*, invade the Union, and break in upon the publick Peace, and then legitimate their Practices by abusing the Person of the Queen, and laying the Reproach upon their Sovereign.

In Defence of this Cause, and in detecting this Fraud it is I am insulted, this Paper presented as a Nuisance, and its Author threatened to be prosecuted — Well Gentlemen, if this be to be vile, I shall be still more vile — and whatever may

be my Lot in the Prosecution this shall for ever be true — *either I have a good Cause, or the Union of Scotland has made no Security for the establish't Church there — and the Honour and Ready Justice of the Queen, which is now the Security of the Church of Scotland under the Union is of no Value. — God Almighty knows only how far a mean Instrument may be sought, and oppress in the Defence of this Cause — But let me use this Freedom with you Gentle men before hand — as to assure you — that every Innovation of Worship breaking in upon the Purity and Uniformity establish'd by the Act of Security — is an Invasion of, and a Breach in the Union — and while this Author lives, attempt it as often as you please, you shall never do it without being told plainly, that by it you perjure the Faith of the English Nation, assault the Honour of the Queen your Sovereign, destroy the mutual Compact entred into with *Scotland*, and as far as in you lyes, break the Union.*

If then this Paper must die the Death of its Fathers, *viz.* be silent for speaking too naked Truth, the Author desires to have Leave to make his last Speech and Confession before Execution — and this shall be, *as his last Breath shall be*, to vindicate the Constitution of the Church of *Scotland*, as a Sacred reserv'd Right, which no Man, Body of Men, no Legislative or Executive Authority in the World can alter, or attempt to alter, without Tyranny and Robbery — no Innovations can be imposed upon Her — no Violence be offered to her, but ye commit a Rape upon the Union, and assault the Chastity of *Englands* Honour.

And let none of my Friends be concern'd for me in this Cause *English* Laws, give *English* Men, *English* Liberty — and it cannot be Criminal to lay

say of *Jacobites* and Invaders of the Union, that they act with neither Truth or Modesty : With such Men I seek no Truce, nor of them do I ask any Favour — Justice is a Debt to me, and to all Her Majesties Subjects, and we may demand it, and must have it.

Nor let any Man suggest that the Government is concern'd in this Prosecution, — had not these People been unable to Embark the Government against me, they would never have taken this Low Step, — could they have gone to the Head, they would never have begun at the Tail : could they have been relieved at the Fountain of Justice, they would never have lapp'd at the remoter Streams. The Government knows that preserving the Rights and Constitution of the Church of *Scotland*, is so far preserving the Union, — and in the Safety of the Union, the Safety of the present Government is wrapt up — The Government knows that these Innovations are Illegal, Unjust, an Invasion of Property, and not in their Power legally to grant, — and the present Queen abhors all Invasions on Her Peoples Liberties, and has declared Her Royal Resolution to prevent them.

'Tis the Glory of this Government, that every Man that pleads the Right and Safety of the Constitution, is sure to have the Protection and Favour of the Government, he that does not offend the Law, can not offend the Government, — and therefore my Refuge is where every honest Mans Refuge is, *viz.* in the Law, and in that Confidence I cannot be deceived, — let the Issue be as it will.

Mean time I cannot but proceed, and this is the second Defeat the Enemy will have to examine the State of the present Debate. I shall endeavour to do it Calmly, and as much as

I can without Invectives. — Not for Fear of more Presentments, nor for Fear of becoming a Nulance ; for really they deserve to be exposed, and it is hard to forbear it ; But because I will give as little Trouble to my self and the World as I can — and before I enter on the Arguments, I shall lay down several Fundamentals, which I believe will be proved in the Consequence of these Papers.

1. That no Innovation of Worship — No, nor any Toleration of it in others, can be put upon the *State*; no, nor suffered by their own Consent, without a Breach of the Union.
2. That if a Toleration were established by Law in *Scotland*, it would ruine and intirely break that Party that are now pretending to desire it, and if it was granted, they would not make use of it.
3. That the Party that attempts these Innovations in *Scotland*, neither seek the *English* Liturgy or the Toleration, but aim openly & avowedly at a Rupture of the Union.
4. That the National Church of *England* are bound by solemn Contract, and their whole National Constitution, to preserve the present Constitution of the Church of *Scotland*, and are bound in Honour to disclaim the present Attempt of Invading it.
5. That the Dissenters in *England* can have no reason to apprehend any Danger to the Toleration they enjoy, from the Presbyterians in *Scotland* refusing the like to their Dissenters.

In these things I shall give as little Offence to you as I can — But if ye will take Offence at the necessary asserting the known and legal Rights of an insulted and Injur'd People, you must be offended : The defending this Cause is of infinite more Value than all I have to sacrifice for it — Nor shall I omit one necessary Article of it for all the Presentments and Prosecutions in the Nation.